2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Thus the house became a home. Birth and death took their turn, so that every square foot of the small dwelling held its special memories. Over in that corner Ivanche was born; that stool by the bed was the one great-grandmother sat on many hours each day until her death at 102 years of age. She was the one who told the children the fascinating stories about dragons, who were "human beings like the rest of us but had wings in their armpits." She always enjoyed telling the legend about the lazy woman back in the days when people did not have to bring wood home from the forest in a wagon but simply tied the wood together in a bundle, whipped it, and sent it home by itself. It seems that the lazy woman was not content with this simple expedient, but after tying the pieces of wood together sat on top the bundle in the hope it would carry her home. God became so angry at this presumption that He forbade the wood to go home any longer under its own power. Henceforth it had to be taken home in a wagon.

Not far from the iconostas was a faded photograph, the only one in the room, of Peter and his bride Tsveta. Peter was the oldest son, and soon after his marriage in 1917 left for the army, never to return from the battlefield. Tsveta of course was married again, three months after his death, to a man from Bistritsa who needed an efficient housekeeper.

But not all of the life at the homestead took place indoors. The walled-in yard was also the scene of many family experiences. In fact, so many of the household processes went on outside in warm weather that the grass was completely worn away. I once asked a woman doing her washing out in the yard where she preferred to do that job. She replied:

"Clothes are washed with soap and hot water, and since we do not have special places for washing we do it in the living room in bad weather, or in the yard in good weather. Many times we carry the clothes to the river, but even there we heat water for rinsing. We pound the clothes with the *buhalka* [heavy wooden paddle] and wash not only our underclothes, but our outer garments as well, with the exception of the leather *kozhusi* [jackets]." She also volunteered in-

formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

342 the entrance is generally in the center of the long side of the house, there are a number of houses (some of them two-story) where the door is on one of the short sides. In this case, the veranda is also found on the short side (Gellert, 1934: 6-7). Gellert (1934: [171] 14) states that complicated houses such as appear in western Bulgaria and Macedonia are missing in east Dulgaria. The Turkish-Oriental style present in southwestern Dulgaria is likewise missing.

[184] In central Dulgaria the same building materials are used as in eastern Dulgaria. In Ihtimanska Sredna Gora the ground floor may be of stone and bond timbers. The upper story is of brushwood, with or without plaster, or timber-framing filled with mud or unfired bricks. Whitewashing is frequent. Straw is rarely used for roofing and tiles predominate. On the foothills near Cirpan thin chalk slabs are used for roofing. Shingled roofs are absent (Gellert, 1937: 182-3).

One-story houses with a veranda enclosed at the sides are common. The veranda rarely extends along the whole front of the [184] house. In general, these houses are larger in the plains than in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan Basins. In south central Dulgaria (Taleŝmanli and Monastirski Vrh) the side rooms protrude to such an extent that they are covered with separate hipped roofs the ridge-poles of which are connected with the main roof (Gellert, 1937: 184).

Two-story houses are numerous in the mountain regions. They are usually built on an incline. Very frequently, the veranda is changed into an anteroom and a balcony is added (fig. 56a) (Gellert, 1937: 185). Generally the lower story serves as a shelter for animals, as storage rooms and also as winter living quarters for the family (Ivimy, 1939).

[184] In the mountain regions near Golak and in Mečka on the Topolnica River the houses tend to be squarer and in this case the veranda is bordered only on one side by a room. The roof is in the shape of a flat pyramid, or has only a very short ridgepole (Gellert, 1937: 187). In central Dulgaria one finds the čardak, a [341] balcony on a two-storied house. It differs from the veranda in that it is not as massive and is not built into the building (fig. 56d) (Gellert, 1937: 181).

•351 184 Farm Buildings. The material used for the enclosure of farmyards varies from region to region, and there may be a great variety of forms in a single area. In the mountain regions and in the Sub-Balkan basins the enclosure is made of woven brushwood or, less commonly, of dry masonry or mud. The entrance is a door of simple wickerwork or boards. In some villages at the foot of Sredna Gora and in some western villages the yard is enclosed by a stone wall with inserted bond timbers. In some areas, particularly around Mečka on the Topolnica River, a fence may be lacking. In general however, wood and brushwood are preferred in the mountain regions. In the Marica plain, between Ihtimanska Sredna Gora and Cirpan,

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almost all farms have high walls of unfired brick which are topped with a small roof of straw. The large gateway is also roofed over and has a small door for people. In the eastern Marica plain the fence is of wickerwork or consists merely of a hedge (Gellert, 1937: 161-62). In eastern Bulgaria the enclosure, if present, is a low one of brushwood (Gellert, 1934: 5).

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In the Marica plain there appears to be a difference between the enclosures in the east and west that cannot be attributed to the presence or absence of the necessary raw materials. Gellert believes that the high enclosures in the west are due to a persistence of Turkish traits (Gellert, 1937: 162). Also, in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan basins high walls are limited to the west (Gellert, 1937: 162).

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In the mountains and the Sub-Balkan basins the yards are small and crowded together because there is little arable land (Gellert, 1937: 164). When the enclosures are of stone the yards are rectangular; when the fences are of wood or hedges the yards are often rounded and there is often much free land between the separate yards (Gellert, 1937: 165).

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Since the houses are generally built to shelter both men and farm animals and have a number of annexes built onto them, one would expect fewer separate farm buildings. Barns are not typical of central Bulgaria. In Ihtiman we find two-roomed barns made of timber-framing and mud. The eaves may be extended and supported by pillars to form a shelter. Only in the extreme east of the Marica plain are barns widespread. Here a small side annex is added to the barn; the entrance is on the short side where the eaves are extended to form a shelter (Gellert, 1937: 158). In Juricite one finds Turkish store houses being used by the Bulgarian population, although in east Bulgaria they are used almost exclusively by the Turks (Gellert, 1937: 160). These are large buildings of woven brushwood with a straw roof that extends far out to the sides. They are generally built on an incline. The entrance is on the short side and the back is rounded (fig. 39) (Gellert, 1934: 3). In Karlovo Basin one finds store houses of wickerwork with straw roofs which have poles attached to the ridge to prevent the straw from being blown away (Gellert, 1937: 159). Stables for sheep in east Bulgaria are long narrow huts of stone covered with straw or reed (Gellert, 1934: 3). In general the various sheds and shelters for animals are of poor construction and have no particular regional characteristics (Gellert, 1937: 159).

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Summer kitchens are numerous; they are either built onto the house or are in the open, in which case they are covered by a roof of straw, reed, brushwood or brick that is supported on four poles (Gellert, 1937: 160; 1934: 3).

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Buildings Outside the Village. Outside mountain villages one finds shepherds' huts of brushwood, round or rectangular in shape,

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard.

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34).

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kʼsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace(1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house(2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104).

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language,

1) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

from the other purely valley type houses, such as the houses of the Hevros or the Plevna valleys» (p. 95). 342

The house of the village of Divlia, Radomir district, (fig. 37) is a «typical bipartite valley building with a portico all along its frontage» (Zlatev, p. 98), and that of the village of Grigorevo, Novo-Celo district, (fig. 38 and 39) is only slightly elevated from the ground and includes, apart from the two spaces, basic for every valley house (the kăsta and the soba), one cellar in line with these spaces, and a small room on the front of the house which, together with the portico, forms a wing,

Fig. 40 House in Sapantsi, district of Novo Celo
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 82)

coming out of the main body of the building. All the rooms have an earthern floor, covered with clay. The hearth is in the kăsta, i.e. the «house», on the wall separating the two rooms and has next to it two built-in cupboards (dulapze). Opposite the hearth, on the other inner wall, there is the pitcher shelf. The bread-oven, the stable and the other buildings, essential for rural life, are to be found in the large courtyard. This is surrounded by a two metres high wall, made of unbaked bricks and covered with tiles (Bulg. keramidi). The entrance door is double, and wide enough to permit the entrance of carts, but next to it there is another door for the entrance of people. The

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9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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342 years ago, was giving shelter to a 40 members' family and which [592] was especially built for this purpose (Plate XIII 6). It is an evolution [513] of the basic type of a house with two spaces (hyza and odaja). The cellars on the one side of the hyza are a subdivision of the third compartment into smaller spaces, and are used by the various couples of the family only to sleep in. The hyza remains the central appart- [252] ment and it includes the hearth, measuring 2 m. x 2 m. where the bread is also baked in a special pot (srepnia, podnitsa). The cellars and the oda open to a hyza without any communication between them. The external architecture of this house presents the character-

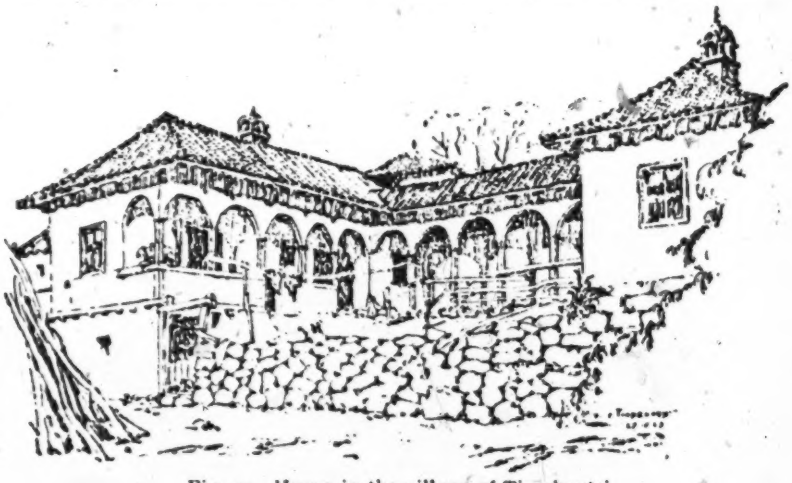

Fig. 42 House in the village of Tiorekovtsi
(Zlatev, Bălg kăsta fig. 77)

istic lack of a prostoon, which, according to Zlatev (p. 91) is the permanent element of the Bulgarian house. The house (Zlatev fig. 78) of the village of Tiorekovtsi, built in 1870, presents the same composition, but with a different arrangement of spaces (See Plate XIII 7).

Another house of this latter village is built according to the second method (Zlatev, Fig. 76 and 77) presenting an apparent architectural synthesis: «two independent bipartite houses, extending [351] parallel to each other are united on one side by a covered portico thus forming a sort of central courtyard, surrounded on two sides by porticoes which, according to Zlatev, remind us of monasteries and

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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clearly show its origin from the Italian Renaissance» (!) (see fig. 42, Plate XIII 8).

In this category of houses of the plains can also be included the troglodyte house, which is seen even to-day in some villages of Nothern Bulgaria. But it forms a separate sort of building as to disposition, construction and arrangement, and it will be mentioned separately at the end of the present survey.

2. The Bulgarian House of the Mountains.

The houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria show a much greater variety of shapes: they are two-storied and, from an architectural point of view, more advanced, than the houses of the plains. The explanation, however, given by Zlatev, that this fact is due to the higher income of the population who live in mountainous areas and become rich through cattle-breeding, can only be accepted if we consider the fact that in the plains of Bulgaria, as well as in those of Greece, there have been big farms belonging to Turks during their occupation, and the farmers were living there as serfs.

The older of the still existing houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria are from the middle or the beginning of last century. If we exclude the houses of the Rodope and the Orvelo areas, that present some peculiarities, the characteristic mark of the highland Bulgarian house is the open portico, which covers all the length of one of the sides of the upper floor, usually the side overlooking the yard. The building has normally no windows opening to the street. This portico also includes the staircase leading from the ground floor to the upper floor. Thus the staircase is almost external, but under the roof of the house (Plates XIV and XV).

The upper storey usually projects over the external wall of the ground floor, along the whole or part of the frontage of the house. This is achieved by the very wide use of timber, both in construction and decoration. The kind of timber used is oak, in the forest districts of Haimos (Balkan) and Sredna Gora, and pine-trees as well as other conifers in the districts of Rodope and Orvelo (Pirin). It would appear that for the abundance of timber, the whole of the highland house was originally made out of wood (1).

1) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 119, «the wood construction is the original form of house building for the Slavs, both in their villages and their

[Text continues on p. 69]

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/For general information on houses and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 79-86./

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/For information on the construction and form of houses, yards and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 70-74, passim and 86N./